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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PHUM, PARM, PTER, PGOV, TU, US, CY, GR
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL VAN HOLLEN'S JULY 20-22 MEETINGS IN
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2. SUMMARY: THOSE OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE STAFF MEMBER CHRIS VAN HOLLEN'S JULY 20-22 OFFICIAL CONVERSATIONS IN ANKARA WHICH DID NOT RELATE DIRECTLY TO GREECE/CYPRUS ISSUES (REFTEL) OR INTERNAL POLITICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS (SEPTTEL), COVERED FAMILIAR TURKISH VIEWS ON RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. AND NATO. TOP MFA OFFICIALS, AND OTHERS, CHARACTERIZED U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS IN POSITIVE TERMS. THEY ALSO TOOK ADVANTAGE OF A VISITING CONGRESSIONAL REPRESENTATIVE'S PRESENCE TO PUT FORWARD TURKISH DESIRES FOR MORE U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND ELIMINATION OF IRRITANTS SUCH AS THE 7-10 RATIO AND CYPRUS-RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE IN LOA'S FOR SALE OF MUNITIONS LIST ITEMS TO TURKEY.

3. THE TURKS EXPRESSED SOME CONCERN OVER WHAT THEY SEE AS NATO'S EMPHASIS ON DEFENSE OF THE CENTRAL REGION OVER THE SOUTHERN FLANK, AND A FEW EXPRESSED DOUBTS REGARDING EUROPEAN WILLINGNESS COME TO TURKEY'S DEFENSE IN THE EVENT OF NON-WARSAW PACT AGGRESSION. THEY VIEWED ARMENIAN RESOLUTIONS AS THREATS TO TURKEY'S TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND TENDED TO SEE U.S. TREATMENT OF THE KURDISH ISSUE IN THE SAME LIGHT.

4. FOR HIS PART, VAN HOLLEN SOUGHT TO PLACE SOME SPECIFIC TURKISH COMPLAINTS IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF CONGRESSIONAL CONCERNS. HE EXPLAINED THAT TURKEY REMAINED THE 3RD LARGEST RECIPIENT OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE WORLDWIDE DESPITE BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS AND A GROWING SENSE THAT AMERICA'S OTHER NATO ALLIES MUST SHARE MORE OF THE BURDEN OF COMMON DEFENSE. VAN HOLLEN ALSO REMINDED THE TURKS WITH REGARD TO CONGRESSIONALLY IMPOSED CYPRUS-RELATED RESTRICTIONS IN LOA'S THAT TURKEY HAD ITS OWN RESTRICTIONS DESIGNED TO LIMIT U.S. ACTIVITIES IN TURKEY TO NATO PURPOSES. MFA OFFICIALS SUBSEQUENTLY INDICATED TO EMBASSY OFFICERS THEY FOUND THEIR EXCHANGES WITH VAN HOLLEN BOTH STIMULATING AND INFORMATIVE. END SUMMARY

5. FOLLOWING ARE KEY POINTS OF VAN HOLLEN'S OFFICIAL CONVERSATIONS IN ANKARA WHICH WERE NOT DIRECTLY RELATED TO GREECE AND CYPRUS (REFTEL) OR INTERNAL POLITICS AND HUMAN RIGHTS (SEPTTEL).

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U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS: MEETING WITH AYHAN KAMEL, MFA
DEPUTY SECRETARY FOR MULTILATERAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS;
JULY 20, 1988

6. KAMEL OPENED WITH A FRIENDLY PRESENTATION IN WHICH HE CHARACTERIZED U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS, AT SOME LENGTH, AS GENERALLY GOOD, NOTING THE SIMILARITY OF THE TWO COUNTRIES' VALUES AND IDEOLOGICAL OUTLOOKS. DIFFERENCES AROSE, HE SAID, OVER THE ACTIONS OF THIRD PARTIES SUCH AS ANTI-TURKISH LOBBIES, AND OVER PROBLEMS OF INSUFFICIENT U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE LEVELS AND DISAGREEMENTS ON TRADE ISSUES. KAMEL OBJECTED TO THE "7-10 RATIO" AND CYPRUS-RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE IN LOA'S FOR SALE OF MUNITIONS LIST ITEMS TO TURKEY AND ARGUED TURKEY'S TEXTILES SHOULD BE GIVEN GREATER ACCESS TO AMERICAN MARKETS.

7. TURKS, HE SAID, TENDED TO MEASURE TURKEY'S "VALUE" TO THE U.S. IN TERMS OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE AND WONDERED WHY TURKEY COULD NOT RECEIVE AT LEAST ONE-HALF OF THE AID GIVEN TO EGYPT. VAN HOLLEN RESPONDED BY ELUCIDATING THE "PRICE OF PEACE" BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT. PLACING OUR ASSISTANCE LEVELS FOR TURKEY IN A BROADER CONTEXT, HE NOTED THAT TURKEY HAD ACTUALLY DONE QUITE WELL BY RETAINING ITS SHARE OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE LAST

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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PHUM, PARM, PTER, PGDV, TU, US, CY, GR
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL VAN HOLLEN'S JULY 20-22 MEETINGS IN

YEAR AT A TIME WHEN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES SAW THEIR PROGRAMS SHRINK OR SLIP AWAY. NOTING THAT TURKEY REMAINS THE NUMBER THREE RECIPIENT OF U.S. AID WORLD-WIDE, VAN HOLLEN SUGGESTED IT MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE NOW FOR TURKEY TO SEEK MORE ASSISTANCE FROM OTHER NATO ALLIES IN THE SPIRIT OF BURDEN-SHARING.

8. KAMEL ELABORATED TURKISH OBJECTIONS TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT'S TREATMENT OF THE KURDISH ISSUE. HE ARGUED THAT INTERMINGLING OF TURKS AND KURDS DURING TEN CENTURIES OF LIVING TOGETHER HAD RESULTED IN AN ANATOLIAN CULTURE COMMON TO TURKS AND KURDS AND GIVEN KURDS A TURKISH IDENTITY. HE AVERRED THE KURDISH ISSUE WAS BEING EXPLOITED BY A NUMBER OF GROUPS INTERESTED IN THE DESTABILIZATION OF TURKEY. KAMEL DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THIS ISSUE, SEEKING TO PERSUADE HIS VISITOR OF THE CORRECTNESS OF HIS POSITION AND HIGHLIGHTING IT AS A MATTER OF GREAT SENSITIVITY TO TURKEY.

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MILITARY ASSISTANCE: MEETING WITH TUGAY OZCERI, MFA
DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS; JULY
20, 1988

9. OZCERI CONTINUED THE DISCUSSION OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE BY POINTING TO GOT RATIFICATION OF THE DECA SIDE LETTER AS A "COURAGEOUS STEP." ALTHOUGH HE SUBSEQUENTLY REITERATED KAMEL'S COMMENTS ON THE PERCEIVED INADEQUACY OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE, OZCERI WAS POSITIVE AND REALISTIC ABOUT THE U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP. HE TOOK PAINS TO MAKE CLEAR THE TURKS UNDERSTOOD THE EFFECTS OF U.S. BUDGETARY STRINGENCIES ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE LEVELS AND EXPRESSED, TOO, HIS AWARENESS OF SECDEF CARLUCCI'S EFFORTS TO STREAMLINE THE DEFENSE BUDGET. HE ALSO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR ADMINISTRATION EFFORTS TO FIND ALTERNATIVE WAYS TO PROVIDE AID (E.G. THE SOUTHERN REGION AMENDMENT). ON THE QUESTION OF CYPRUS-RELATED RESTRICTIVE LANGUAGE ON LOA'S, OZCERI AVERRED THAT THE GOT COULD NOT LOOK ACCEPT RESTRICTIONS AFFECTING TURKISH SOVEREIGNTY (SIC).

10. VAN HOLLEN ANSWERED THAT HE WAS GLAD THE TURKS APPRECIATED THE U.S.'S BUDGET PROBLEMS, WHICH DID NOT, IN FACT, REPRESENT ANY DIMINUATION IN THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO TURKEY. HE AGREED THAT THE U.S. HAD FOUND OTHER WAYS TO ASSIST TURKEY SUCH AS THE SOUTHERN REGION AMENDMENT AND DOD'S ALLOCATION TO TURKEY OF ABOUT ONE BILLION DOLLARS OF DISCRETIONARY FUNDS. HE ALSO EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT U.S.-TURKISH JOINT VENTURE ARRANGMENTS WERE UNIQUE AMONG OUR ALLIES. VAN HOLLEN POINTED OUT THAT TURKEY'S DEFENSE NEEDS WERE PART OF AN OBLIGATION SHARED BY THE ENTIRE NATO ALLIANCE, NOT ONLY THE U.S. AS FOR LOA LANGUAGE AIMED AT LIMITING THE USE OF U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO NATO PURPOSES. VAN HOLLEN NOTED THAT TURKEY ENFORCED SIMILAR RESTRICTIONS ON THE ACTIVITIES OF U.S. FORCES IN TURKEY TO NATO ACTIVITIES.

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MEETING WITH KAMRAN INAN, PROMINENT ANAP PARLIAMENTARIAN
AND MINISTER OF STATE FOR DEVELOPMENT AND THE SOUTHEAST
ANATOLIA PROJECT (GAP); JULY 21, 1988

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11. THE GENERALLY FEISTY AND ACERBIC INAN WAS UNCHARACTERISTICALLY MELLOW AND GOOD-HUMORED AS HE LAUNCHED INTO CONVERSATION WITH VAN HOLLEN. HE PORTRAYED THE U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONSHIP AS HEALTHY AND POSITIVE. AFTER REPEATING TURKISH CONCERNS ABOUT U.S. MILITARY ASSISTANCE NOTED ABOVE, INAN SPOKE BRIEFLY ABOUT BURDEN SHARING AT VAN HOLLEN'S PROMPTING AND ABOUT EUROPEAN EFFORTS TO ORGANIZE ITSELF AS A EUROPEAN "PILLAR." HE SAID THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO HAD UNFORTUNATELY BEEN PARALYZED BY GREEK-TURKISH DIFFERENCES BUT ADDED NATO STILL FOCUSED TOO MUCH ON THE CENTRAL REGION TO THE DETRIMENT OF THE SOUTHERN FLANK. INAN AND VAN HOLLEN THEN ENTERED INTO A SPIRITED
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E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: OTRA, PREL, PHUM, PARM, PTER, PGOV, TU, US, CY, GR
SUBJECT: STAFFDEL VAN HOLLEN'S JULY 20-22 MEETINGS IN

DISCUSSION OF GREECE/CYPRUS ISSUES, CONTAINED REFTEL.

12. TURNING LASTLY TO THE SOUTHEAST ANATOLIAN PROJECT (GAP), INAN SAID ITS PURPOSE WAS TO STOP EMIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHEAST TO ANKARA AND ISTANBUL AND PREVENT EXPLOITATION OF THE REGION'S RELATIVE BACKWARDNESS BY TURKEY'S HOSTILE NEIGHBORS AND SEPARATISTS. EQUATING ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITH SECURITY, INAN SAID GAP WOULD EVENTUALLY RENDER THE SOUTHEAST CAPABLE OF SUPPORTING 100 MILLION PEOPLE.

UNAL MARASLI, MFA DEPUTY DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR
DISARMAMENT AND CONVENTIONAL STABILITY; JULY 21, 1988

13. MARASLI ECHOED INAN'S REMARKS THAT NATO EMPHASIZED THE CENTRAL REGION IN THE CONVENTIONAL STABILITY TALKS; THE TURKS FAVORED A MORE GLOBAL APPROACH. MARASLI SAID THE TURKS ALSO FAVORED INCLUSION OF AIRCRAFT GIVEN TURKEY'S POOR AIR DEFENSES AND WARSAW PACT AIR SUPERIORITY IN THE REGION. HE AVERRED THE SOVIETS WOULD PROBABLY REFUSE LIMITING THE TALKS TO TANKS AND ARTILLERY ONLY AND EVENTUALLY FORCE THE AIRCRAFT ISSUE.

14. AFTER SOME DISCUSSION OF THE RELATIVE STRENGTH OF SOVIET AND TURKISH GROUND FORCES, MARASLI SAID THE TURKS WERE ALSO CONCERNED ABOUT SOVIET NAVAL FORCES IN THE BLACK SEA. NOTING THAT THE TURKS WERE FORCED TO ALLOCATE AN ENTIRE DIVISION TO PROTECT THE TURKISH COASTLINE FROM THE POSSIBILITY OF A SOVIET NAVAL ATTACK, HE ASSERTED SOME TURKISH TROOPS SHOULD BE LEFT OUT OF THE OVERALL FORCE CALCULATIONS.

ALI HIKMET ALP, MFA AMBASSADOR AND POLITICAL ADVISOR TO
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE; JULY 22, 1988

15. ALP THOUGHT IT WAS TOO SOON TO EVALUATE THE DAVOS PROCESS BUT NOTED GREEK POSITIONS IN NATO HAD UNDERGONE NO CHANGES. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION BY VAN HOLLEN, HE SAID THE GREEKS HAD BEEN SLOW TO MOVE FORWARD ON NATO INFRASTRUCTURE PROJECTS. THE GREEKS, HE SAID, LACKED INCENTIVES TO BE MORE ACCOMMODATING WITHIN NATO AND VIS-A-VIS TURKEY; THEY ENJOYED COMFORTABLE RELATIONS WITH THE WEST AND REAPED SIGNIFICANT FINANCIAL REWARDS THROUGH EC AID, THE TOURIST INDUSTRY, MARITIME TRADE AND MAINTENANCE OF HIGH MILITARY ASSISTANCE LEVELS THANKS TO THE 7-10 RATIO. VAN HOLLEN EXPLAINED THAT THE 7-10 RATIO WAS NOT ALL IT SEEMED WHEN CONSIDERED IN THE LIGHT OF OTHER U.S. EFFORTS (SUCH AS THOSE VAN HOLLEN

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MENTIONED TO OZCERI) ON BEHALF OF TURKEY.

16. ALP SAID U.S. TURKISH RELATIONS WERE GOOD ON BALANCE BUT NOTED THE 1964 JOHNSON LETTER HAD SHAKEN TURKEY'S CONFIDENCE IN THE U.S. HE AVERRED--EXPRESSING AN EXTREMELY UNCOMMON VIEWPOINT HERE--THAT A TURCO-U.S. BILATERAL DEFENSE TREATY AGAINST NON-WARSAW PACT THREATS WOULD BE THE BEST PROOF OF THE U.S. COMMITMENT TO TURKEY. IT WAS NEEDED, HE CONTINUED, PRECISELY BECAUSE A EUROPEAN COMMITMENT TO TURKEY WAS LACKING DESPITE NATO OBLIGATIONS. EUROPEANS WOULD NOT GO TO WAR FOR TURKEY. ALP ASSERTED TURKEY HAD BEEN EXCLUDED FROM MEMBERSHIP IN THE WEU BECAUSE IT CONTAINED AN "AUTOMATIC" MECHANISM FOR MUTUAL DEFENSE.

ARMENIAN ISSUE: MEETING WITH ERHAN YIGITBASIOGLU, MFA
DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH AND INTELLIGENCE, JULY 20, 1988

17. YIGITBASIOGLU GAVE A STANDARD PRESENTATION UNDERLINING HOW CONGRESSIONAL ARMENIAN RESOLUTIONS AMOUNTED TO A DIRECT STEP AGAINST THE STABILITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF TURKEY AND ENCOURAGED ARMENIAN TERRORISM. HE SAID ASALA AND THE JUSTICE COMMANDOS FOR THE ARMENIAN GENOCIDE WERE CURRENTLY DORMANT BECAUSE TERRORIST ACTS COULD HURT PROSPECTS FOR POLITICAL
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PROGRESS IN THEIR CAUSE.

18. VAN HOLLEN NOTED THAT ARMENIAN RESOLUTIONS WOULD RECUR AND CAUTIONED AGAINST OVERREACTING TO THEIR MERE INTRODUCTION; IT WAS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER THEY HAD ALL BEEN DEFEATED. HE URGED TURKEY TO CONTINUE WHAT IT WAS DOING TO MAKE ITS CASE WITH THE CONGRESS. YIGITBASIOGLU'S TERRORISM-RELATED ARGUMENTS, VAN HOLLEN CONTINUED, COULD PROVE VERY EFFECTIVE ON THE HILL.
STRAUSZ-HUPE
END OF MESSAGE

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